l: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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nothing to show that they had long been in the Saskatchewan region. All that is certain of their previous past is their closer relationship to the Arapaho than to any other tribe; and the origin of the Arapaho is equally obscure, except that it is certain that, if they came from the north and east, it was a long time ago. Of the Gros Ventre it can only be said that, while related to the Arapaho and regarded by them as almost politically a part of themselves, they were far separated from them when first known, with them for a short time later, and again separated, and in contact and alliance with another much more distantly related Algonkin branch. Their habitat in a hundred years has been successively near the Saskatchewan, the Platte, and the Missouri. There is nothing to show that such variability of affiliation and location within the culture region of the Plains has not been characteristic of their previous history.

The Gros Ventre call the tribes near them by the following names: Arapaho, hinan'ăn (in Arapaho, hinanuei-na"); Cheyenne, itisŏn, "scars" (itisŏ", "a scar;" Arapaho name of the Cheyenne, hitaciina"); Cree, na"tsa", "rabbits;" Ojibwa, djinhuna"tsa", "Lower Cree;" the three Blackfoot tribes, waotä"nixtääts, "black-feet" (a Blackfoot, waotä"nixtänin, "black-foot-man;" a Piegan, tsä"t'; the Bloods, ka"winähää"); Assiniboine, na"djinethin; Sioux, na"wina"djinei, "Below-Assiniboine" (in Arapaho, na"tinei, "a Sioux"); Crow, hounen, "crow-men;" Minitari, wuxnokayän, "—lodges;" Shoshone, sösŏuyänin, "snake-men;" Bannock, waotä"nixiinin, "black-men" (in Arapaho the Ute are called waotänähiçi, "black"); Flathead Salish, kuakaäänin, "flathead-man;" Nezpercé, taniibäts, "pierced-nose" (Arapaho taniibääçi is the Caddo). Two tribes to the southwest or perhaps west, which have not been identified, are the wasöi"hiiyeihits, "grass-dwellers," who live in houses of grass or brush; and the na"wuxa-antibiina"ts, "fish-eaters."

The Gros Ventre were divided into groups similar to those of the Blackfeet and Sioux. The names of these bands were nicknames, and in no way totemic. As there was prohibition of marriage within the band, the name "clan" is, however, applicable to them. Descent was paternal and a man belonged to his father's band; but the prohibition of marriage extended also to his mother's clan, all the members of both the father's and mother's clan being considered relatives. Each band seems to have had a recognized head or chief. During the winter the tribe broke into smaller groups, consisting of one or perhaps more clans, which followed the buffalo, and camped chiefly in the timber. There corrals were made for the horses at night to prevent their being stolen by war-parties. When summer came, the clans joined and camped together in the large camp-circle. In this, the opening of which was toward the east, the different bands had definite

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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361 places. Beginning at the eastern opening of the circle, and going southward, westward, northward, and eastward again, the order in which the 621 clans camped was as follows: —

614

1. Frosen, or plumes.
2. Those-who-water-their-horses-once-a-day.
3. Tendons.
4. Those-who-do-not-give-away, or buffalo-humps.
5. Opposite (or middle) Assiniboine.
6. Ugly-ones, or tent-poles worn smooth (from travel).
7. Bloods.
8. Fighting-alone.

Other names of clans, whose location in the camp-circle was not ascertained, and some of which, perhaps, are second names of clans enumerated above, are: —

Dusty-ones.
Coffee.
Weasel-skin head-dress.
Ka'hutyi (the name of a chief).
Poor-ones.
Berry-eaters.
Torn-trousers.
Gray-ones, or ash-colored.
Breech-cloths.
Night-hawks.

Anecdotes referring to incidents that are usually ridiculous accompany these names. The Smooth-worn-tent-pole people were so called, because the ends of their tent-poles, used as travois, were worn smooth from much travelling. The Tendon clan was so called, because one of this band had said that the tendons in the neck of a buffalo were good eating. The Frozen-people were so called, because, when they had hungry visitors in winter, they gave them frozen meat. Those-who-water-their-horses-once-a-day are said to have followed this practice so that their horses would gain flesh more quickly. The Opposite-Assiniboine, like the Assiniboine, were said to have had few horses, and the Fighting-alone were very warlike people. Those-who-do-not-give-away-without-return were considered stingy, and the Ugly-people were said not to have painted their faces.

FOOD AND HUNTING.

224 [262] Like most of the other tribes of the Plains, the Gros Ventre subsisted almost entirely on the buffalo, and their culture depended to the usual degree upon this animal. The following scattering notes were obtained regarding the hunting of buffalo and other animals.

Buffalo enclosures used to be made of trees and forked limbs set in the ground in a half or three-quarter circle below a vertical bank. Extending over the country above the bank, a long chute of two rows of stone monuments was erected, behind which sat men. Other hunters drove the buffalo into the chute. Those behind the piles of stone rose up as the buffalo

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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796 ors and directors through the dance. By these old men the dancers are painted in the dancing-lodge every morning during the ceremony. The dancers' wives take a more prominent part in the ceremonies among the Gros Ventre than among the Arapaho. They are painted at the same time as their husbands by his "grandfather." Every night during the ceremony there are certain observances between the "grandfathers" and the dancers' wives, who leave the camp-circle together in order that the women may receive medicine from the old men. This practice is much more developed among the Gros Ventre than among the Arapaho.

Whether there is in each dance a preparatory period in which the dancers' regalia are made and they are instructed in the ceremony by their "grandfathers," as among the Arapaho, is not clear in the case of the Gros Ventre. The dancing itself in all of the age-ceremonies goes on for four days,[1] and, in some cases, nights. On the last day the dancers leave the lodge, and [361] dance for gifts before the tents of prominent men at different places in the camp-circle. Immediately upon this the camp breaks. The dancers, with the property they have received in gifts, go in advance, and lay the presents on the ground. The camp comes up in a body and makes a rush; the property is seized and divided. The dancers form in a circle, and at the conclusion of four dances rush off to race. On their return the ceremony is ended. Only in the case of the crazy-dance do these ceremonies of the fourth day appear to take place without the camp-circle having been broken; [786] and for four days thereafter the camp remains in position, giving the participants in the ceremony opportunity for the license which is a part of this dance.

All the ceremonies, including the sun-dance and the women's dance, are made as the result of the pledge of an individual in the hope of deliverance from death or danger, either of himself or of a relative. If a member of a company of men who are of the proper age to make the crazy-dance has a relative whom he loves, and whose death from sickness is feared, he may say, "Such and such an old man (naming him) shall put up the crazy-lodge for me this summer." If the sick person dies, the dance is not held. Sometimes a person who is ill himself pledges to make the dance on his recovery. The pledger of any dance is called ye'nouhuxtj[1] (Arapaho, ya'nahût[1]). A man in danger in war, or one who has been wounded, may also pledge the dance. The time for the dances is apparently summer. For the sun-dance, spring or early summer, when the trees are full leaved, is [616] specified; and it is added that sometimes, after the pledge is given, the people have to wait all winter to make the ceremony. In the case of the crazy-dance, it is stated that two divisions of the young men of the tribe,

[1] Probably to be interpreted as three nights and three days.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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older informants at the present time belong to the bands known as the Frozens, the Tendons, and the Upper Quarters. If the entire tribe had gone on such a visit to the Arapaho, it is almost certain that some tradition of this travel would have been passed on, as it would have occurred in the lifetime of Coming Daylight's grandmother and of The Boy's father, from both of whom these informants had much reliable material. It thus seems more likely that several bands—perhaps in population amounting to as much as half the total tribe—went on the expedition together. It was customary for the Gros Ventres to split into smaller groups and for several bands to winter together. It would seem probable that one or two such smaller groups pillaged the Hudson's Bay Company post in the late 1820's, wintered together on the upper Missouri, and then traveled south to the Arapaho.

While part of the Gros Ventres tribe was with the Arapaho, the remainder,—roaming the strip of plains between the Blackfoot groups on the west, the Assiniboine on the east, and the Crow on the south,—managed to improve their situation somewhat. Although the whole tribe was probably reunited by 1833, when Maximilian gives us an account of his meeting with them, they were fairly prosperous in spite of the losses sustained by those who had fought at Pierre's Hole and had then been ambushed by the Crow. Maximilian states specifically that " these Indians were formerly very poor, had bad tents and could not buy firearms; they have, however, recovered of late and supplied their wants." [68] One of our informants told us that she had heard often, when she was a child, that in her grandmother's young days,—which we estimate as the early years of the 19th century—the Gros Ventres were very badly off and had so few horses that they used dog transport almost exclusively, but that the situation gradually improved, and, by the time our informant was born (ca. 1855), they again had many horses, a sign of prosperity. From Maximilian's description and from Bradley's estimate of the situation in the early 1830's, it would seem that there was no dearth of either horses or firearms among the Gros Ventres at that time. Maximilian states, however, that they showed the effect of their encounters with the Crow by a noticeable disproportion of the sexes, and that

[68] Maximilian, p. 75.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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621 The Boy, ventured the following tentative indentification, saying
114 that these may have been earlier names respectively for Same As Assiniboine, Upper Quarters, Water Horses, Night Hawks, Coffees, Frozens. A few informants had heard of Breech Cloths and Weasel Skin Headdresses as band names but didn't know which modern bands they might have been, always assuming that the number of bands had been twelve.

361 As to the exact order of the bands in the camp circle, there was
621 no real agreement. The order given by Singer and Coming Day-
114 light differs from that given by Kroeber. Furthermore, while the two old women were emphatic that the places within the camp circle were permanent—"otherwise we could not remember all this!"—some of the men informants were under the impression that the band from which a new Flat Pipe Keeper was chosen moved to the center position opposite the opening of the camp
361 circle, and that the others shifted accordingly.
621 In any case, the circle, with opening toward the rising sun, was the formation employed when the whole tribe was together. When bands were separated from the main group they might or might not camp in this way, depending somewhat on the length of time they expected to remain in one spot, and on the nature of the terrain. Sometimes, for instance, the lodges of the various families of the band were strung out along a watercourse.

According to The Boy, there was a tendency for bands which camped in proximity within the big camp circle to go off together when the tribe split up. The Upper Quarters and Frozens were often together and, along with them, the Same As Assiniboine or occasionally the Greys (proper) and Buffalo Overloaded, usually staying more or less in the vicinity of the Milk River, the center of the territory claimed by the Gros Ventres. Whereas the Tendons, followed by the Poor Greys and Bad Plenty, moved for winter quarters to the country bounded by the Big Sandy, the Marias River (at Ft. Benton), and the Bear Paws; while the Fast Travelers as a rule sought out the country south of the Missouri toward the Yellowstone River and Crow country, accompanied by perhaps the Coffees. Water Horses and Bloods were friendly
554 with each other and joined now one group and now another.
621 A band which was thus followed by two or three others had

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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take you to a camp of Gros Ventres.' 'Who are they?' she asked, 'What is their name?' The woman told her: 'A little short man called Warrior Man,' who was a brother of the returned woman through marriage.

"So the woman took the returned Gros Ventre woman to this camp and said: 'I have brought you a Gros Ventre woman. Come and see who it is.' As soon as they saw who it was, they were glad and took her and kissed her and gave her everything good.

"One evening a few days later Warrior Man and his wife got ready and before sunup started off for the big Gros Ventre camp. He walked while Crow Bull's wife rode horseback. It was springtime with wet snow still on the ground. The big camp was at Big Sandy, on the north side of Milk River at the place where the trees stop. They arrived there early in the morning and did not know where to go. I, Coming Daylight, saw the man and the two women approaching and went out to see who they were. The man asked: 'Where is Crow Bull's lodge?' I then saw them go to Crow Bull's lodge. All at his lodge were glad to see the returned captive and kissed her.

"Later when the ground got dry, the whole tribe moved to their usual place here at what is now Hays. Crow Bull made good his vow to take the Flat Pipe if his wife got back safe to him, and I witnessed the transfer, by the keeper of the time, Lame Bull. The rite took place just about a half mile north of where St. Paul's Mission now is."

Crow Bull kept the Pipe a long time, until his death in 1887, upon which it fell to his widow, an Assiniboine woman named Coming Day. This woman neglected the Pipe. Coming Daylight told her: "Now, this Pipe is just like your father. Why is he always left alone? He was never left alone before. Now I have a mare and this Pipe has a saddle. Put the Pipe on the saddle and take it to White Bird. He will take care of it." So they went to White Bird and talked to him first. He agreed to take it over without rite or vow. On the request of a young man, Bird Sits High, the Pipe was transferred to him. This young man died soon after and his father, Otter Robe, took it upon himself to harbor the Pipe. When Otter Robe died, sometime prior to 1908,

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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The lodges of the other people faced toward the east-southeast, from utilitarian consideration, since the prevailing and strongest winds were from the northwest in winter and west in summer. But the door of the keeper's lodge was toward the south, an orientation determined by the ritual position of the Pipe inside the lodge, namely, in the place of honor opposite the door with the stem pointing toward the rising sun. 342 346 [36]

The interior of the keeper's lodge was arranged as follows. In the center was the family hearth. About midway between this and the north segment was the square incense hearth, with the west half of black sand and the east of red. At the north, close to the wall, was the Pipe bed and place for the Pipe tripod. The bed, oriented east and west, was made of a buffalo robe over sage brush. At each end was a willow back rest, and over each rest a robe of summer-pelage (after winter coat completely shed) buffalo skin. The tripod, of three legs, was a little over five feet high. The Pipe bundle was either laid on the bed close to the wall or else hung on the tripod, always with the stem to the rising sun. The northern part of the lodge, including the incense hearth and Pipe bed and adjacent area, in all about one-third of the interior, constituted a sort of "sanctuary." 342 346 353 778

The keeper's sleeping bed, with its back rest toward the north, was a little removed from the Pipe bed, toward the west; the co-keeper's in a corresponding position toward the east. The Pipe child commonly slept on the Pipe bed, alongside of and to the south of the Pipe bundle, with his head to the east. If however the keeper or co-keeper wanted to sleep on the Pipe bed in order to dream, the Pipe child would then give place and sleep in his father's or mother's bed as the case might be. When any of the three slept on the Pipe bed, the Pipe bundle might hang on the tripod over them or else rest on the northern edge of the bed nearest the wall. In the latter case, the tripod was folded up and leaned between the Pipe bed and the co-keeper's bed. According to Thick the sleepers had to lie flat on their backs all night. According, however, to The Boy they were forbidden to do so and had instead to lie on their sides, because the turtle was closely associated with the Flat Pipe and if a turtle gets on its back it cannot right itself. 342 346 513 [784] [825]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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784 517 fund of war exploits would be apt to give out, and the two would begin talking about trifling occurrences in camp, personal reminiscences about their marriages, and so forth. Everybody had a good time at such a three-day session.

Neither the keeper nor others were permitted to tell folk-tales of the vulgar or obscene Ni:həhat type in the former's lodge. If a member of a visiting group inadvertently broke the rule, a three-day session similar to the war-deed one above was prescribed, during which he had to continue telling such tales.

798 696 If a murder of a fellow-tribesman had been committed in camp, and the murdered person's relatives were about to kill the murderer in revenge, the latter could run to and take refuge in the keeper's lodge and was safe so long, but only so long, as he stayed there. The avengers dared not enter it to kill, but immunity ceased so soon as the murderer left the lodge.

621 361 There is general agreement among our informants that the keeper's lodge was pitched in a prominent place, but exactly where in the camp circle is a controverted point we did not succeed in clearing up. According to one tradition, it occupied the place of honor in the circle, toward the northwest—opposite the circle's opening which was toward the southeast or the rising sun,—regardless of where the keeper's band camped in the circle. Three, however, of our oldest informants, Coming Daylight, Takes-the-Bow, and Turn-Toes, held that the keeper remained with his band, the first two of the three stating that his lodge was pitched a little in front of his band toward the center of the circle.

Prerogatives and Restrictions of Keepership

793 The office of keepership carried with it on the one hand a great many special rights, privileges, prerogatives and powers and on the other a great many restrictions, obligations, responsibilities and sacrifices. The following list is undoubtedly incomplete, as new ones were still being revealed when our field work came to an end,[8] but it probably includes most of them. They functionally accord with sacred and high dignity of the keepership, the supernatural power attached to it, the lofty ethical behavior and "as-

[8] Kroeber, 1908, p. 273, has some we did not get.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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dried and seasoned, then pulverized, and used in a liquid. It was also used mixed with other things. 278

The Pipe keepers, and co-keepers, ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers, were immune and could handle it. But if others touched the plant or powder they would be seized at once with fits which only an actual or retired keeper or co-keeper could cure by working on him and blowing some of the powder on him. Some Gros Ventres, however, such as old Deafie, did not believe that wild parsley caused fits, but many cases are reported. One man, for instance, in recent times carried some in his hands to a dance, and during the dance got a fit and it took one of the ex-co-keepers to bring him out of it. Another man used wild parsley as a medicine in doctoring. Each participant in the Crazy Lodge used it. But originally its use was confined to Pipe keepers and co-keepers (see p. 52).

If one were scratched with an arrow that had been dipped in wild parsley infusion he would suffer spasms, fits and acute agony and would not live till morning. Such a poisoned arrow was tied by each Crazy Lodge dancer to his bow, apparently as a silent threat to enforce obedience and respect by the people during the lodge rites, but was thrown away after the dance was over.* These poisoned arrows were not used at any other time than the Crazy Lodge; never for instance, in Gros Ventre wars or raids on enemies. 411 278

Seasonal Rites

The three annual seasonal rites were in the olden days the major ceremonial events in Gros Ventre life according to The Boy, Thick and older informants. No vow was necessary to hold them. They were never omitted. They had to be performed. The seasonal rites have long since been given up. They were last carried out sometime in the late 1860's or early 1870's, while The Boy's father, Lame Bull, was keeper. 796* 178

The three seasonal rites were held in the spring, fall and winter respectively. About April the various Gros Ventre bands, which 796* 221 361

*Cf. Kroeber, 1908, pp. 207-08 regarding poisoned arrow.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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*796 had been scattered during the winter, would foregather at a designated place for the spring buffalo hunt, and when the trees were 221 in leaf and the grass up and everything growing and in blossom 361 and a certain kind of sage about 10 inches high, long enough to pluck, the spring rite was held. During the summer months the bands kept more or less together, largely engaged in hunting the buffalo and holding the Sacred Lodges. Around October occurred the larger fall hunt to get in supplies of meat, skin, fur, sinew and so forth for the winter, and, before the bands scattered, the fall rite took place. After the fall rite, the bands scattered for the winter months. The winter rite was performed about the middle of the winter season and was participated in only by the members of the band or bands which had elected to stay the winter with the Pipe and its keeper.

*796 The three rites were fundamentally the same, with some differences to be noted, but had each its own purpose. All three were dominantly theistic in the sense of being directed chiefly toward the Supreme Being. Spring time, when all nature was coming again to life, was in general Gros Ventre religious belief, the most propitious time for prayer. The spring Pipe rite was primarily a rite of hope and petition, a prayer that all things would grow well, that there would be plenty of game and of plant food, that the people would have abundance of all things they needed for living well, that they would be successful in all their worthwhile undertakings such as the hunt, that there would be no sickness, and that all would live happily. The fall rite, held after the winter supply had been killed and dried and berries had been gathered, new lodge coverings made, and perhaps new lodge poles, new bedding, clothes cleaned, etc., was primarily a rite of gladness and thanksgiving. To "make a sort of report" to the Supreme Being that they were still living, that their spring prayers to him had been answered in the way they had asked, and to give thanks to him for these good things which ultimately had come from him. The purpose of [801] the winter rite was less clear cut. For one thing, the rite was required to round out the cycle of three, the Pipe number. Thanksgiving was one purpose, thanksgiving "and a sort of singing of praises," "a sort of adoration," because the people were at leisure, without hardship, sickness or anxiety, glad to be still alive in the

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346 toward the east and bowl filled down toward the west. At sweating
*796 rites on certain occasions as when a man was fulfilling a vow to make a sweat-house for the Pipe or when a participant offered bits of his flesh, a buffalo skull was placed on top of the mound, but not at seasonal rites.

Close to the mound, eastward thereof, on the east-west axis, was erected the pole on which offerings were hung. The pole was a small straight tree trunk, not too big, with the limbs trimmed off but the bark left on, well imbedded upright in the ground. It was colored black all the way round by grasping it with a blackened palm, in three places,—about head high, about half way between this point and the top, and at the very top.

● [361] The Pipe sweat-lodge was erected near the keeper's tent, outside the camp circle. A new one was built for each seasonal rite.

*796 The chief components of the sweat-lodge ceremony of the Flat Pipe seasonal rite were: the preparation, presentation and disposal of gifts; the invitation to the sweaters; the smudging; the prayer with and smoking of a common pipe; the sweating proper; the three series of songs. Of these components the principal one was the offering of the gifts or sacrifices. The sweat-lodge and sweating were necessary "to make the offering complete." In other words, the whole rite was essentially a sacrificial one. The offerings were given voluntarily by members of the tribe, including commonly the keeper himself. The gifts or sacrifices were offered to the Supreme Being through the inferior beings who entered into the rite and in a sense through the Flat Pipe.

The sweat-lodge rite had three main divisions with three songs sung at each: the preparation of the offerings, the hanging of them on the offerings pole, and the sweating and associated observances within the sweat-lodge.

The sweat-lodge rite began with the preparation of the offerings. If the whole seasonal rite was a three-day one, this preparation took place on the first night and day, the rite at and in the sweat-lodge on the second day, and the separate Pipe rite in the keeper's lodge on the third; if a one-day one, the preparation of the offerings took place the night before, the rite at or in the sweat-lodge early on the following morning, and rite in the keeper's lodge during the day. The whole order and content of the rites

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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position. In depositing the bundle on its bed, she would lower it gently in three stages, spitting at each one.

When the people were staying for any length of time at a given camp site, the Flat Pipe bundle, which was always kept inside the keeper's lodge during the night time, would regularly in good weather be taken out early in the morning at breakfast time by the co-keeper, with the customary grasping and carrying ritual, and hung up, stem-end pointing east just over the door of the keeper's lodge, not on its tripod. The outside of the keeper's lodge around the door up to full reaching height, about 6 or 7 feet, was painted red. The thong handle of the bundle was looped over, the two projecting ends of a stout pin, skewered horizontally in the tent cover, on the immediate line above the door at the upper edge of the red-painted area.

The bundle would hang over the door all day until about sundown when it would be brought back into the lodge for the night. In bringing it back, the co-keeper walked out of the lodge, unhooked and grasped the bundle, turned clockwise, walked all around the lodge clockwise, entered the lodge, proceeded clockwise to the incense hearth, dipped the stem end of the bundle three times in the smudge, and deposited the bundle in the usual ritual manner, as above described, at the far north end of the Pipe bed.

The final decision as to when and whether the camp, in which the Flat Pipe chanced to be, was to be moved was made by the head man especially the band chiefs and in the olden days the tribal chief too, the keepers having perhaps taken the initiative in calling them together. They would notify the Pipe keeper. Early the next morning the co-keeper with the usual ritual observances would take the Pipe bundle from its bed and carry it and its tripod outside the lodge a little to the north thereof, set up the tripod and hang the bundle on it. The tripod would be set up with two of its legs closer together, and with the third leg stretched out farther, its upper end projecting a little beyond the junction of the three legs. On this projecting end the bundle was hung by the thong handle looped over the end. On other occasions the bundle was hung on the tripod stem-end pointing east. But on this occasion the rule was superseded by another, namely, the third leg

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no crying by children in the lodge; if a child started to cry it was taken out at once. Dogs were not allowed in the lodge, nor could the keeper use a dog robe. Bones could not be broken in the lodge to extract marrow, as in the case of the Flat Pipe lodge and under the same penalty. War-deed contests in the Feathered Pipe lodge were prohibited and penalized, as in the Flat Pipe lodge,—with a four-day penalty. The right of asylum was recognized exactly as in the case of the Flat Pipe keeper's lodge.

The lodge occupied a place of honor in the camp circle, but whether opposite the opening of the circle or just in front of the keeper's band is controverted, as in the case of the Flat Pipe keeper's lodge (see p. 58).

The prerogatives and restrictions attaching to the keepership of the Feathered Pipe appear to have been quite similar in number and kind to those attaching to the keepership of the Flat Pipe, although we did not obtain as full details regarding them as we did for the Flat Pipe. We shall mention only those prerogatives and restrictions for which we obtained specific information. The functional relation of the various prerogatives and restrictions to the sacredness and dignity of the keepership was quite the same for both Pipes.

In accord with the dignity of their office, the keeper and co-keeper were expected to comport themselves respectably on all occasions and to conform to the strict ethical norms to be mentioned presently.

The people were in turn expected to treat them with great respect. Things asked for by the keeper had to be handed to him, not thrown, exactly as with the Flat Pipe keeper, and under the same penalty. If someone absent-mindedly stepped over the outstretched feet or legs of the keeper, the latter would keel over in a faint and the co-keeper would have to smudge him ritually to bring him to, or the offender would fall down with a "cramp." Coming Daylight once saw a woman in a crowded place step over the feet of the Feathered Pipe co-keeper. The woman "fell in a cramp." Her mother got angry and upbraided the co-keeper: "You ought to know better than to leave your feet sticking out." But her sister went over and kissed the co-keeper and begged her in a nice way to doctor the stricken woman. So the co-keeper got up and

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789 be spoiled. Sitting High told him to summon the other old men. I could not stay in the tent with them although I was living with Sitting High at the time. Sitting High and his wife were there; so were the other old men, but not their wives. They started singing about three or four o'clock in the afternoon and kept it up all night. I woke up very early next morning and could hear them still singing. They were then just about breaking up. They had to see the ceremony through. They would sing four songs and smudge and smoke and talk. Then they would sing four more and rest between each four until they had sung 44 songs. Sure enough it cleared up the next day."

[361] A rite for stopping floods was described as follows by Jim Shortman: "One whole winter the Gros Ventres camped on the Musselshell River until spring. When the ice would go out the water would flood the valley from hill to hill, and all the camps, set up in the timber along the river for shelter, would move. My father, then Feathered Pipe keeper, did not move, and his wife said to him: "We will be flooded. What will you do?" "We will stay here," he said. "It is too much trouble to move." She told him: "We will be drowned." But he said: "No." That night he took down one of his little bags, which contained a hand-made wooden bowl. He took out the bowl, made a smudge, smudged the bowl and sang and talked to him, and after that went outside the lodge. I followed him out to see what he would do. He walked right out to the river which was rising and stopped about 8 or 10 feet from the water. He held the bowl up towards heaven, sang and talked [prayed, evidently], then lowered it first in the three stages, and at the fourth set it on the ground face down. Then he went back to his lodge. And, don't you know, the water was all around everywhere else, but did not come any closer to the spot where he put the bowl. Gosh, I was scared. I thought we would all drown. But when I got up the next morning the water was all around us, but we were all right."

Various ritual procedures were used by the Feathered Pipe keeper to avert or to stop thunderstorms. He would go out and stand, facing the oncoming storm. He would then stretch out his arms straight from the shoulder with his palms together. Then he would move his arms outward at the same time turning his

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song had also to be sung, apparently to the accompaniment of the drum.

Putting sweet pine needles on the sick person's head, blowing wild parsley on him, and smudging him as doctoring practices have been previously described. According to Singer, if some one were so sick that his life was despaired of, the keeper would take the Feathered Pipe [the bundle, probably] and lay it on him and pray over him, and the sick person would recover, and, she added, "it cured a lot of them." Doctoring power was regularly acquired by reason of acquiring the keepership.

The keeper and co-keeper painted their own faces every morning after breakfast, like the men, in two bands, but broader ones three or four fingers wide, one on the forehead near the hair line and the other from one jaw across the chin to the other jaw.

The Pipe bundle was smudged by the keeper every morning and evening with sweet pine needles. During Curly Head's keepership Cora Chandler and her children were kept busy collecting dried cow dung for the daily smudging ceremony. The keeper made it a practice to "talk" or pray often to the Pipe in his lodge. According to The Boy, the keeper was fearful lest otherwise he might make ritual mistakes, at which the Pipe would be angry. According to Al Chandler, the Pipe being jealous, the keeper "had to talk to it to let it know it was not forgotten or put away; he treated it just like a person."

Customary observances on the occasions of feasts or ordinary meals to guests in the keeper's lodge have been previously described.

When the keeper and the people were camped for any length of time in a given place, the Feathered Pipe bundle was ordinarily taken in the morning from its place of honor opposite the entrance inside the keeper's lodge, hung up outside over the entrance, and brought back inside at eventide.

When the camp was to be moved, the Feathered Pipe keeper, like the Flat Pipe keeper, had, it seems, a consultative voice in the decision and perhaps even veto power at times, although ordinarily the final decision was made by the head men. The decision once made, early in the morning when camp was to be broken, the Feathered Pipe bundle was hung out on its tripod back of the

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Sacrifice Dance center pole, the sacred Pipes did not enter at all into the Sacred Lodges.

In all the Sacred Dances, the ritual number was four and movement was clockwise.

A sweat-lodge rite was held in connection with the Sacrifice and Crazy Dances, but we could obtain no details on it; whether also in connection with the others our informants could not say.

The Sacrifice, Drum, Kit-fox, Dog and Crazy Dances regularly lasted four nights and days; the Fly and probably the Old Men's and Old Women's just one day.

The sacred Dances were not held in the winter time when the bands were usually widely scattered, but in the period from about May or June when the bands foregathered to September after which the bands tended to scatter for the fall buffalo hunt.

The lodges for the Old Men's and Old Women's Dances were very simple and were put up outside the camp circle toward the south thereof. The lodges for the other Dances were erected inside the camp circle, near the center.

Feasting daily during the four-day dances was customary, except during the Sacrifice Dance which entailed much fasting on the part of the participants.

The alternation of reverent tension and pleasurable free release that characterized the sacred Pipe rites was even more characteristic of the Sacred Dances.

Sacrifice Dance

The proper name of the Gros Ventre dance commonly referred to by whites and by many English-speaking Gros Ventres as the Sun Dance is aθe:hao'wə (literally, "sacrifice lodge"—aθe:'atc "sacrifice" and -ao'wə "sacred [not common] lodge"; cf. Sifton "sacrifice," athêyach and "Sun Dance," athêihawh'). We are therefore using the term Sacrifice Dance for it. The sun does not enter at all into it. The name apparently has references to the tortures undergone around the center pole by the main participants.

Our chief informants on the Sacrifice Dance were The Boy and Thick, who had witnessed the rite as boys and who had learned much about it from their elders: Coming Daylight, who had wit-

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says this to You [Supreme Being]," and at the end would say four times, "Yo-o-o-o-o-o." Then (or perhaps before this pronouncement rite) the older man smoked the pipe. The grandfather was free to recruit an assistant, usually a younger man than himself, to help him paint the vower and the vower's wife. The several functions of the grandfather,—instructing, painting, feeding, gift-making, and especially the sex test,—will be described as we go along.

If the chief vower or any members of the groups of two to four dancers had younger brothers of, say, about 7 to 10 years of age, these latter could be brought into the dance as "Little Crazy Boys." These young boys were painted, were present all through the rite, and served as pages or messengers. If, for instance, a grandfather did not know exactly how body painting at a particular juncture should be done, the Little Crazy Boys would be sent around to get the information. They did not, however, participate in major features of the rite, such as jumping in the fire and so forth.

The making of the vow to hold the Crazy Dance and the securing of the ceremonial grandfathers were done quietly and privately. The public phase of the dance began with the formal announcement.

A crier (or criers) would go around the camp advertising the dance and talking it up, with exhortations such as: "Now you young men who are going to dance, fix up your hearts, be men, be strong, be men and join the dance, go through with it. Be men, don't be weaklings. But think it all over well before you join. This red paint is rough (said figuratively to imply: your wife is involved, you will have to give her away, to expose her to a severe test.)" As previously mentioned there was apt to be a certain resistance on the part of the younger men, to this "sales pressure," and a touch of cynicism as well.

The Crazy Dance was usually held about June when the buffalo had fattened up well, or else a little later, about August. In case the people happened to be scattered at the time, runners were sent out to bid them foregather. The chief vower or the one who accepted the challenge put up his lodge in the center of the camp circle, and this served as executive headquarters of his council and age-group until and during the dance.